Pensacola During the Second Spanish Period

L. N. McAlister

PENSACOLA DURING THE SECOND SPANISH PERIOD,

by L. N. MCALISTER

I. SPAIN RETURNS TO PENSACOLA, *1781*

ON THE FIRST DAY of January, 1777, an event in New Orleans was to have important consequences for the history of Pensacola: Bernardo de Galvez formally assumed the governorship of Louisiana. Galvez was typical of the colonial officials who were appointed during that Indian Summer of Spanish Imperial history, the reign of Charles III. A career officer in the royal armies, he had already distinguished himself in several theaters: first in Portugal, then in Mexico against the Indians on the northern frontier where, under his famous uncle Jose de Galvez, he displayed those traits of energy, initiative, and leadership which characterized his subsequent career. During the next few years he served in the French army for training purposes and in 1776 was ordered to New Orleans as commander of the garrison and subsequently promoted to the governorship of the colony while still less than thirty years of age.

Galvez assumed his new office at a critical time. The inhabitants of the thirteen English North American colonies had declared their independence. Spain was definitely anti-English, and the defense of Louisiana, bordering as it did on British West Florida and the English posts on the east bank of the Mississippi, would be a serious problem. Galvez, therefore, devoted himself to strengthening the fixed defenses of the colony and to augmenting its military forces. Galvez also took the precautionary step of sending the adjutant major of New Orleans, Jacinto Panis, to Pensacola. Although ostensibly his mission was to secure guarantees of Louisiana's rights as a neutral in the war, his secret instructions were to observe the state of defenses of the capital of British West Florida.

Galvez' measures were very shortly justified. Declaration of war reached New Orleans in July, 1779, and Galvez immediately convoked a council of war which decided that Spanish efforts should be concentrated on the defense of New Orleans. Galvez, however, differed; he felt that the English should be attacked before they had an opportunity to concentrate their forces, and

that the first efforts should be directed against their posts on the Mississippi. In September he struck against Manchac which was taken by assault, and Baton Rouge surrendered to a Spanish expedition, a capitulation which included the British post at Natchez farther up the river. Thus, in a short time, Galvez drove the British from the lower Mississippi. Also, to forestall British counter-operations from Canada, a successful raid was launched against the British post at St. Joseph on Lake Michigan.

With the Mississippi secure, Galvez turned his attention to a more ambitious project, the reduction of the British strongholds at Mobile and Pensacola and the occupation of West Florida. It was decided that Mobile should be the first objective and Galvez turned to Cuba for reinforcements and secured some 567 men. With these forces plus 754 troops from Louisiana, Galvez attacked Fort Charlotte. On March 12, after a two weeks siege, the fort surrendered and Mobile reverted to Spanish possession.

The first attempts against Pensacola were frustrated by the reluctance of Cuban authorities to provide reinforcements, by the timidity of subordinate commanders, and by a hurricane which between October 18 and October 23, 1780, destroyed one entire expedition. Galvez, however, refused to give up and in February, 1781, he was ready to strike again. On the twenty-eighth he departed for his objective with a convoy carrying 1315 men made available to him by the captain general of Cuba. At the same time he ordered his lieutenants in New Orleans and Mobile to rendezvous with him at Pensacola with all the men they could spare from their respective garrisons. On March 9, the convoy anchored off Santa Rosa Island. [1]

The defenses confronting the Spanish were Fort George and Fort Barrancas. The strongest of the two, Fort George, was 1200 yards north of the old Spanish plaza. Built by Governor Chester in 1772, it was a double stockade with the space between filled with sand. Within the fort were the barracks of the garrison, powder magazines, and the governor's council chamber. Also there were two outworks, the Redoubt of the Prince of Wales, some 300 yards northwest of the main fort and the Redoubt of

1. For Galvez' early career and his preparations for the Pensacola campaign see John W. Caughey, *Bernardo de Galvez in Louisiana, 1776-1783* (Berkeley, 1934), pp. 61-199. The Panis mission is treated in the same author's "The Panis Mission to Pensacola, 1778," *The Hispanic American Historical Review,* X (1930), 480-489.

the Queen, still 300 yards farther up the hill. Both were defended by strong artillery emplacements.

Fort Barrancas was situated some seven miles southwest of the town and was a small, square structure of fascines backed by earth and surrounded by a ditch. It was served by eleven guns including five thirty-two pounders. Fort George and Fort Barrancas were garrisoned by some 1200-1300 troops under the command of Brigadier General John Campbell who was also the governor of Pensacola. [2]

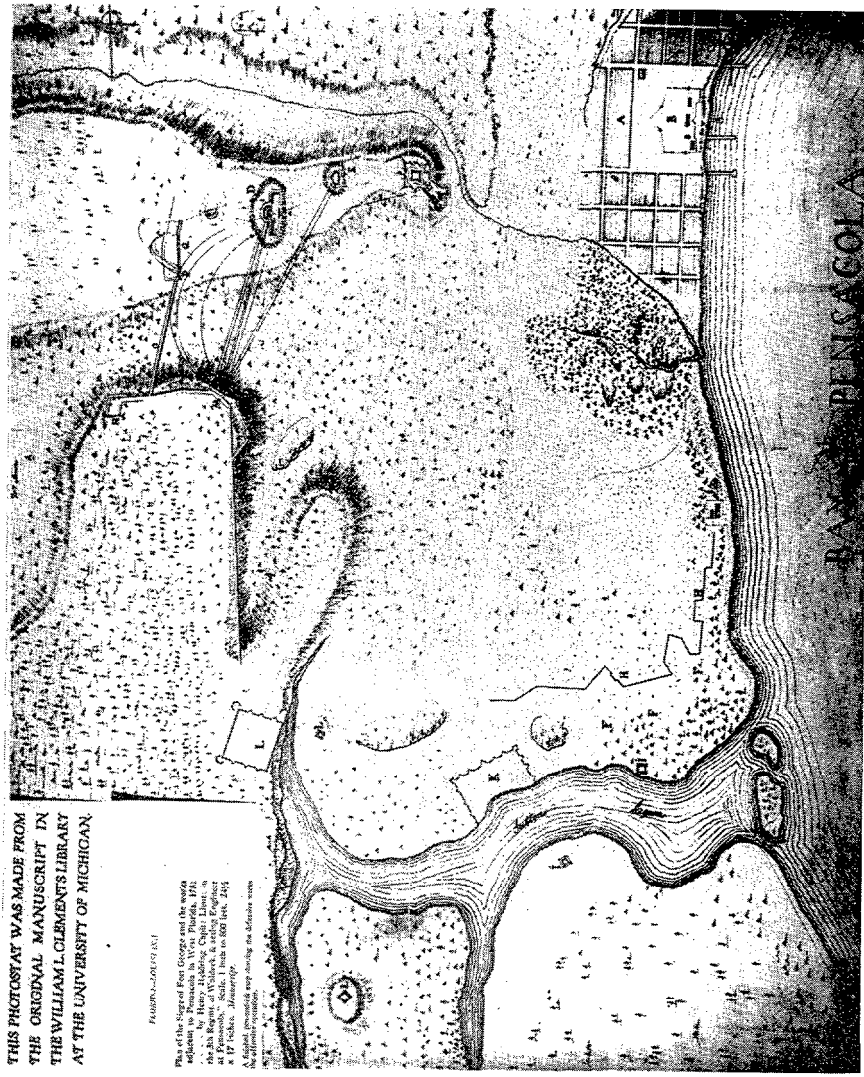
The first task that confronted Galvez was forcing an entrance into the bay. This was a difficult and dangerous undertaking because of the bar which blocked the passage, the guns of Fort Barrancas, and two British frigates in the harbor. During the night of March 9th-10th, the Spanish established batteries on Santa Rosa Island and Point Siguenza, forcing the British warships to withdraw, and the army was landed on the island. Early on the morning of the tenth an attempt was made to force the entrance, but immediately the flagship, the *San Ramon,* ran aground. However, on the eighteenth and nineteenth the effort was renewed and Galvez in person led the entire fleet, less the San Ramon, into the harbor despite heavy fire from Barrancas.

Within a week after forcing the entrance to the bay reinforcements were on hand. Nine hundred men arrived from Mobile and on the next day the expedition from New Orleans appeared bringing 1200 men. These increments along with the original force from Havana placed nearly 3500 men under his command.

Action slowed after the spectacular preliminaries to the siege. Fort George was too strong to be taken by direct assault except at the expense of prohibitive casualties. Over a month was devoted to reconnaissance of British positions, the establishment of fortified camps on the lagoon just west of the town, and to working the lines north and west to within artillery range of the fort and its outworks. These operations were undertaken in the face of almost constant harassment from Indian allies of the British.

The captain general of Cuba, fearing that several English frigates sighted off the coast of the island were on their way to

2. The best treatment of the fortifications of Pensacola is Stanley Faye, "British and Spanish Fortifications of Pensacola, 1781-1821," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XX [1942], 277-292.



BRITISH FORTIFICATIONS (C.E.D.) AND SPANISH ENTRENCHMENTS, 1781 (It was battery D which blew up May 8.)

Pensacola to raise the siege, dispatched a fleet to reinforce Galvez. The 3675 men that it carried raised the strength of the Spanish forces to over 7000 men.

The Spanish lines gradually crept closer to the British defenses. About a third of a mile northwest was constructed a strong point of earth and timber almost as large as Fort George itself.

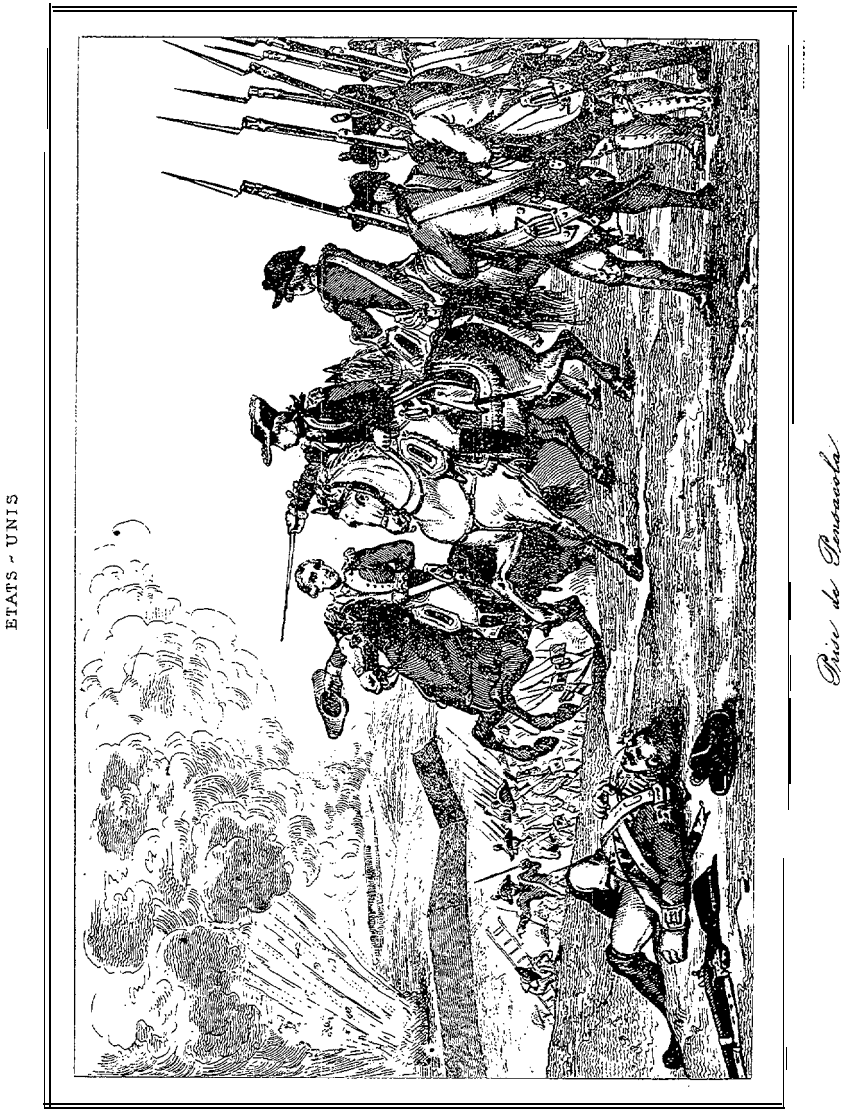
Galvez named this installation San Bernardo after his patron saint. Within it were installed a battery of six twenty-four pounder guns and three thirteen-inch mortars. On May 2, the guns opened fire on the redoubts of the Prince of Wales and the Queen while the mortars ranged on Fort George and its lines. The British vigorously returned the fire.

Meanwhile engineers continued the trench north and then west and began the placement of another battery. Heavy fire was directed against this by the British which was followed by an infantry charge of such strength that the Spanish were forced to fall back on Bernardo. The advanced battery was soon recovered and, after repairs were effected, began a lively bombardment of the Queen's redoubt.

The constant bombardment soon created a critical situation within the British lines. The garrison of Fort George was badly outnumbered by the attackers and the men were required to man its posts with scarcely any relief. Then, on May 8, a Spanish shot found the powder magazine in the Queen's Redoubt. Gage Hill was shaken by a tremendous explosion which almost completely demolished the position and killed eighty-five of the defenders. Spanish light infantry immediately moved forward to the smoking ruins and cannon and mortars were installed which opened fire on the Prince of Wales redoubt.

With the loss of the advanced position, the British situation became desperate. It was obvious that the Prince of Wales redoubt could not sustain the heavy fire that it was receiving much longer and when it fell Fort George, itself, would be untenable. On the eighth, General Campbell requested a truce to discuss terms of capitulation. This request was granted by Galvez on April 10. By the terms of the agreement, the British surrendered all of West Florida. The civilian inhabitants of Pensacola, were given the option of remaining in West Florida or of departing after a reasonable length of time allowed to settle their affairs.

In the course of the fighting, the British suffered the following casualties: Officers killed, three; officers wounded, two; enlisted men killed, one hundred and twenty-five; enlisted men wounded, seventy; deserters, twenty-four. The Spanish losses were ten officers killed and five wounded, and eighty-four soldiers


ETATS - UNIS
Prise de Pensacola
NERAL
RENDRE FORT GEORGE MAY 8 1781

killed and one hundred and eighty wounded. [3] Some 1113 English prisoners were surrendered to the Spanish plus an impressive inventory of arms and supplies. Galvez departed on June 4, leaving Pensacola under the command of Arturo O'Neill, a post which the latter held for twelve years.

Thus, after an eighteen year lapse, Pensacola passed again into the hands of its founders. The author of the victory, Bernardo de Galvez, was amply rewarded for his campaign in the Floridas. He was promoted to lieutenant general, made captain general of Louisiana and West Florida and subsequently of Cuba, enobled as the Conde de Galvez, and as the royal order read, "to perpetuate for your posterity the memory of the heroic action in which you alone forced the entrance to the bay, you may place on the crest on your coat of arms the brig *Galveztown* with the motto, 'Yo Solo'." Finally, as a climax to his meteoric career, in 1784 he was made viceroy of New Spain, the highest office in Spanish America. His rule was well received and he attained widespread popularity. However, success was to be brief. In the fall of the same year he was stricken with fever and, on November 30, he died at the age of thirty-eight. [4]

The military successes of Galvez were confirmed at the peace table. In 1783, as part of the series of settlements terminating the War of the American Revolution, England agreed that Spain should retain West Florida and that East Florida should be ceded to its former owner.

3. The principal sources for the Spanish operations against Pensacola are Franciscode Miranda, "Diario de lo mas particular ocurrido desde el dia de nuestra salida del Puerto de la Habana," *Archivo del General Miranda,* I, 141-147; Francisco de Miranda, Diario de lo ocurrido, en la escuadra, y tropas, que . . . salieron de la Havana . . ., para socorrer al exercito espanol, que atacaba la plaza de Panzacola . . .," *ibid.,* I, 150-179 (trans. by Donald E. Worcester as "Miranda's Diary of the Siege of Pensacola, 1781," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XIX [1951], 163-196); "A Journal of the Seige *[sic.] of Pensacola* West Florida 1781," *Archivo del General Miranda,* I, 179-181 (probably written by Robert Farmer, one of the officers of the English garrison); Bernardo de Galvez, *Diario de las operaciones . . . contra la plaza de Penzacola . . .* (Mexico, 1781) (trans. as "Diary of the Operations of the Expedition against the Place of Pensacola . . .," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* I [1917-18], 44-84). See also Caughey, *Bernardo de Galvez,* Chap. XII; Faye, "British and Spanish Fortifications;" Frederick Cubberly, "Fort George (St. Michael), Pensacola," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* VI (1928), 220-234.
4. Caughey, *Bernardo de Galvez,* Chap. XIV.

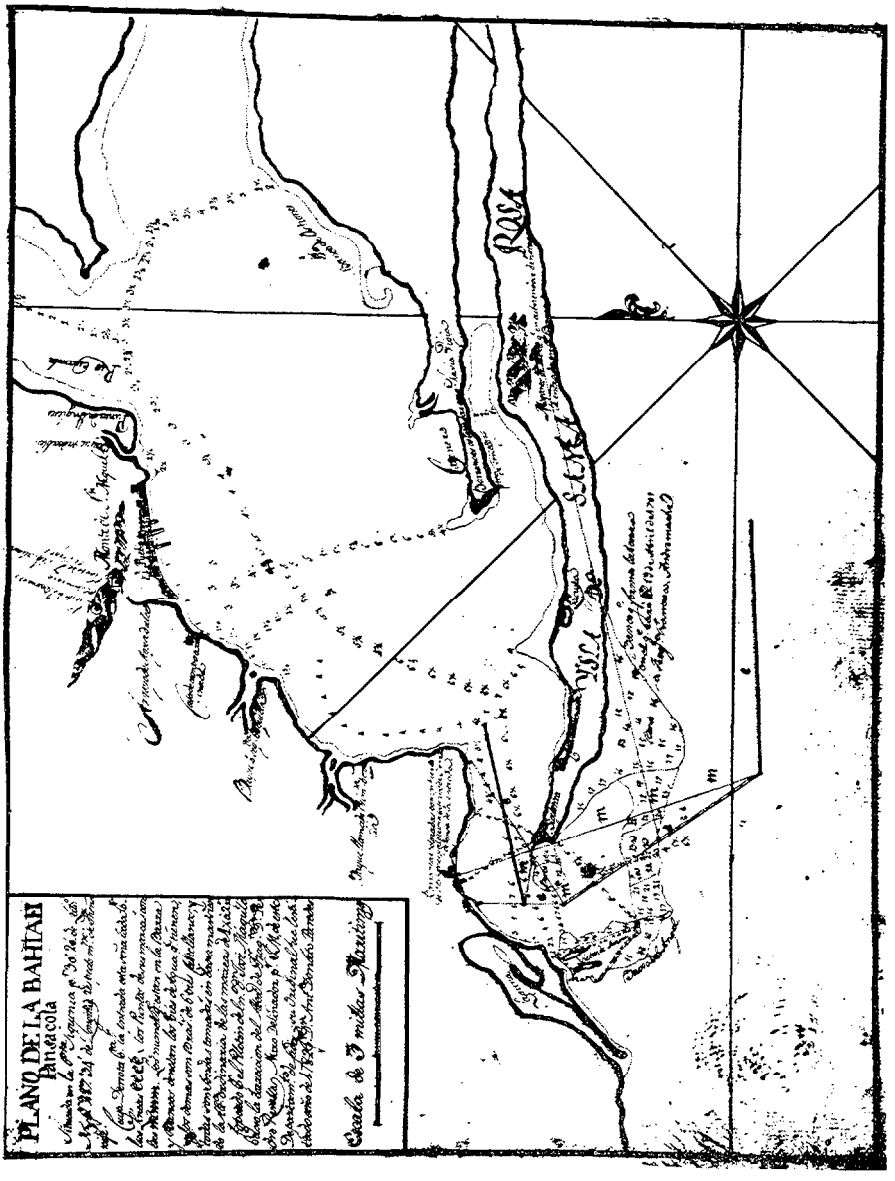
With the capture of Mobile and Pensacola, West Florida was reincorporated into the Spanish colonial system, and Pensacola was reestablished as its capital. Technically the region was annexed to the province of Louisiana, and Bernardo de Galvez and his successors exercised over it both civil and military authority in their capacities as governor and captain general. Arturo O'Neill and the military commandants who followed him exercised the many of the functions of governor and were subordinate financial officers under the direction of the intendant (chief of financial affairs) in New Orleans. In both civil and military matters, however, they frequently by-passed New Orleans to deal directly with Havana. [7]

PENSACOLA IN *1783*

At the opening of the Second Spanish Dominion, Pensacola was hardly an impressive settlement. It was bounded on three sides by a wilderness. To the east the nearest settlement was St. Marks, on the west Mobile. Overland communication with them consisted only of poorly marked trails. On the north, hundreds of miles of Indian country intervened between it and the nearest Anglo-American settlements. Pensacola's connection with the outside world was by the sea. Its harbor provided sufficient depth for the largest vessels but those drawing more than twenty feet experienced difficulty in crossing the bar at the entrance. The water near the town itself was shoal for some distance from shore and since no adequate wharfs existed, vessels generally had to be unloaded by lighter. The harbor presented another problem. It was infested with worms which could destroy a vessel's bottom completely in a few months. [8]

The town itself preserved the physical appearance it had acquired during British domination. It occupied a strip of territory of about a mile along the bayfront and extending inland a quarter of a mile. On the north it was bounded by a swamp and on either side it was pinched out by two small streams which rose under Gage Hill. [9] During the British occupation it had been laid out in

7. Duvon C. Corbitt, "The Spanish Administrative System in the Floridas, 1781-1821." I. *Tequesta*, I (1942,) 55, 56.
8. O'Neill to Galvez, January 22, 1784, Joseph B. Lockey Historical Manuscripts in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.
9. Faye, "British and Spanish Fortifications," p. 283; Thomas Hutchins, *A Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West Florida* (Philadelphia, 1784), p. 77.


PLANO DE LA BAHIA
Pensacola
Escala de 3 millas Nautigas
SANTA ROSA

blocks some 400 by 250 feet, each of which was divided into twelve lots. Few of these were built on. The streets defining the lots ran north-south and east-west and were approximately ninety and sixty feet in width respectively. They were all unpaved; their surface was the sand of the locality. The houses, some two hundred in number, were all built of wood and most of them were of one story with porches facing the street. Many were surrounded by wooden fences. In the center of the town was a large plaza, some thirty acres in area, facing the bay. In the middle of the plaza was a stockade of cypress stakes some ten feet high. This was flanked by stronghouses of pine planks on each corner which were joined to the stockade. Within the enclosure the principal buildings were the house of the governor, the barracks for the garrison, and several storehouses. [10]

The population of Pensacola excluding the garrison was under 300. [11] Most of the inhabitants were Canary Islanders and French creoles. The former British residents had almost without exception declined the option of remaining and had been evacuated after the surrender. The entire population was either directly or indirectly dependent on the government establishment for support. The brisk trade in lumber, naval stores, skins, and indigo developed by the British and which had yielded some $500,000 a year, almost ceased with the return of the Spanish. The British plantations in the outlying areas were abandoned. The only agriculture consisted of truck vegetables produced in small private gardens in the town and on a few plots outside the limits which were cultivated by Canary Islanders. [12]

Inasmuch as Pensacola was primarily a military garrison, it enjoyed no municipal government. Whatever civil administration that was required was provided by the commandant and his staff. In matters of justice the commandant exercised what amounted to police court jurisdiction and served more as an arbiter of disputes

10. Inclosure to O'Neill to Galvez, August 20, 1784, Lockey Papers; John Lee Williams, *A View of West Florida* (Philadelphia, 1827), pp. 74-75.
11. Michael J. Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas:* 1783-1822 (Washington, 1940), p. 68.
12. O'Neill to Galvez, August 20, 1784, Lockey Papers; Martin de Navarro, "Political Reflections on the Present Condition of the Province of Louisiana" [New Orleans, *ca.* 1785], in James A. Robertson, *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807* (2 vols. Cleveland, 1911), I, 253; Williams, *View of West Florida,* pp. 74-75.

than as a judge. Major suits were referred to the governor of Louisiana. Cases involving special *fueros* (privileged jurisdictions) such as those of the clergy were sent to Havana where the captain general determined competence and referred them to the proper court. By and large, however, civil administration received little attention from the commandant. Indeed there was little to administer. His chief role was that of a military commander and he was almost exclusively concerned with matters such as fortifications, conditions of the garrison, military intelligence, and Indian affairs. [13]

The fortifications of Pensacola consisted of works taken over from the British, Ft. George was renamed Fort San Miguel, the Prince of Wales battery became Fort Sombrero, and the Queen's Redoubt was rechristened Fort San Bernardo. All were in a dilapidated condition. In 1784 O'Neill reported that being of wood they were subject to continuous decomposition. In regard to the fortifications at the entrance to the bay, O'Neill reported that Fort Barrancas, renamed San Carlos de Barrancas, was in equally poor condition. The commandant was of the opinion that the fort would have to be entirely rebuilt. The small battery of San Antonio which had been installed below San Carlos was in good condition but without the fort to support it, it was virtually useless. [14]

The garrison of Pensacola totalled 795 men drawn from the regular regiments of the King, the Prince, Spain, and Havana. [15] After the peace treaty of 1783, however, these units departed and one battalion of the infantry Regiment of Louisiana was assigned to garrison West Florida. Most of the battalion was stationed in Pensacola but it also provided smaller garrisons for Mobile and St. Marks. The battalion had an authorized strength of some 460 men, but from the beginning it displayed an ailment which was chronic with Spanish military units in America. Death, sickness, and desertion left it understrength and there were never enough replacements to fill the vacancies. [16]

13. Corbitt, *Spanish Administrative System*, I, 57.
14. Inclosure to O'Neill to Galvez, August 20, 1784, Lockey Papers; Faye, "British and Spanish Fortifications," pp. 282-284.
15. Inclosure to O'Neill to Luis de Unzaga, February 15, 1783, Lockey Papers.
16. Josef de Ezpeleta to Estevan Miro, Havana, July 22, 1788, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 151A. Material from this source will be cited hereinafter as AGI:PC.

With the re-establishment of Spanish government the Roman Catholic Church returned to Pensacola. West Florida fell within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the diocese of Santiago de Cuba but immediate supervision of church affairs was delegated to Father Cyril de Barcelona, vicar of the Bishop of Santiago for Louisiana and West Florida. After the British surrender, Father Cyril sent Father Pedro de Velez of the Capuchin order, to serve as pastor of the old Spanish parish of St. Michael in Pensacola. The church, however, experienced a difficult time in reestablishing itself. Government officials were too preoccupied with military and administrative matters - and too short of funds - to provide the support that was traditional in Spanish church - state relationships. It even proved impossible to construct a church and Father Velez had to make do with an old warehouse which he converted for purposes of worship. [17]

* * *

II. PENSACOLA AND THE SPANISH-AMERICAN FRONTIER, *1781-1795*

The history of Pensacola and West Florida during the second Spanish period is intimately bound up with their role in the Spanish-American frontier question. When Spain returned to Pensacola after the War of the American Revolution, she was faced with a situation considerably more delicate than that which had existed in 1763. The region had always been a frontier, an "Outpost of Empire", held not so much because of its intrinsic value but rather to protect more valuable possessions in the Caribbean and Mexico. For defense of this outpost Spain had relied on the hundreds of miles of wilderness that separated West Florida from the closest threat, the Anglo-American colonies to the north and east, and on control of the southern Indians through fortified posts and Catholic missions. This complex of intervening wilderness, presidio, and frontier had been the basis of Spanish frontier defense since the Conquest.

In 1783 an entirely new situation existed. During the twenty years of British rule in Florida, a constant stream of American frontiersmen had crossed the eastern mountains and drifted down

17. Curley, *Church and State,* pp. 54-58.

the tributaries of the Ohio and the Mississippi and also southward and westward from the older settlements in Georgia. This frontier population in 1785 has been estimated at 75,000 persons. The American frontiersmen were a fertile, dynamic, and aggressive lot. They were intensely individualistic, physically tough and hardy, and resentful of all authority, including that of their own government. Their basic values and interests, summed up by one authority as insistence on municipal self-government, devotion to Protestant fundamentalism, and land hunger, were at odds with everything that Spain stood for in the Floridas.

The threat of the American frontiersmen was complemented by the attitude of far-sighted men in Washington. To them the existence of a strip of territory barring the United States from the Gulf of Mexico was an abomination. The Gulf was the "natural" boundary of the new republic. Also, a question of security was involved. The Floridas in hostile hands might constitute a springboard for operations against the United States. Moreover, the control of the Gulf, itself, was regarded as essential for American security and to achieve such control the United States must have ports on its shores. Finally, the principle outlets for the trade of the old American West were rivers which flowed southward through Spanish territory to the sea. Expansionists had no doubt that the Floridas and Louisiana should and would be theirs. [19] The sentiments of both frontiersmen and statesmen was aptly summed up by Josiah Quincy: "We want West Florida. Our western brethern will have West Florida. By G- we will take West Florida . . . ." [20]

For Spain it was obvious that military defense alone could not hold West Florida and Louisiana against the tide of American frontiersmen and the acquisitive policy of their government. As the Spanish minister Godoy put it, "You can't lock up an open field". [21]

18. For a description of the Spanish-American frontier after the American Revolution see Whitaker, *Spanish-American Frontier,* Chapters I and II.
19. American designs on the Floridas are well treated in Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1812* (New York, 1949), Chapter II.
20. As quoted in J. E. Dovell, *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary* (New York, 1952), I, 169.
21. As quoted in Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question: 1795-1803* (New York, 1934), pp. 34-35.

Therefore, diplomacy, intrigue, and various other special measures were used to halt the Americans. In retrospect, the most amazing of these was the encouragement of American immigration into Louisiana and the Floridas by providing for equal commercial privileges, free land grants, and religious toleration for all Americans who wished to settle in Spanish territory. The reasoning behind this step was simple. One of the weaknesses of the Spanish provinces was underpopulation. The Spanish themselves did not have the resources to settle them. Therefore, why not try to make Spaniards out of Americans? What is difficult to understand is the naivete of such a policy. When Thomas Jefferson heard of the proposal he referred to it as "settling the Goths at the gates of Rome" and gleefully wrote, "I wish a hundred thousand of our inhabitants would accept the invitation. It will be the means of delivering to us peacefully what may otherwise cost us a war." [22] Events were to prove him correct.

Pensacola was more directly involved in still another aspect of frontier defense, the control of the Indian nations which inhabited the wilderness intervening between it and the American settlements. These nations were the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks, altogether numbering about 45,000. If these tribes could be brought under Spanish influence they might be made to constitute an effective barrier against the American frontiersmen. Even before the cessation of hostilities, Spanish officials in Louisiana and the Floridas began the creation of a series of Indian buffer states. By making the Indians dependent on her as the principal outlet for their furs and as the source of blankets, powder, mirrors, and other trade goods that they required, they could be used for political and strategic purposes. [23]

ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY

Spain soon found an effective instrument for the achievement of this objective in the person of Alexander McGillivray, the son of Lachlan McGillivray, a loyalist who had been active in the Indian trade before the Revolution, and a mestizo woman, half French and half Creek Indian. After the Revolution and his

22. As quoted in Whitaker, *The Spanish-American Frontier,* p. 103.
23. The best discussion of the Spanish-American frontier question is the above cited Whitaker, *Spanish-American Frontier.*

father's retirement to Scotland, Alexander took over what remained of the family interests in the old Southwest and established himself on the Coosa River near present-day Montgomery, Alabama. Here on broad, fertile acres he lived the life of a southern planter. He had been well-educated, he dressed like a white man, he lived in a white man's house, he was a Mason, and he offered liberal hospitality to all who passed his way. The lady who presided over his establishment, however, was an Indian squaw of the Creek nation and she was by no means the only squaw in his life. Indeed his profligate existence-he drank heavily in addition to other excesses-undermined his health and he died in Pensacola in February, 1794, still a young man. Here he was buried in the beautiful garden of his friend and protector, William Panton.

McGillivray, because of the losses his father had sustained during the Revolution was hostile to the Americans and he possessed great influence among the Indian nations as heir to his father's position and because of his wife's connection. The Spanish quickly realized his value and in 1784 made him commissary or commissioner to the Indians. Through McGillivray's good offices a series of treaties were negotiated which laid the foundations of Spain's Indian policy on the Florida frontier. The first of these were held with the Creeks in Pensacola. It opened on May 30, 1784 with imposing ceremonies. To emphasize the importance of the occasion not only O'Neill but Governor Estevan Miro of Louisiana and the intendant, Navarro, were present. Gifts for the Indians were provided, mutual compliments exchanged, and a treaty of alliance and commerce was signed. O'Neill and Miro then proceeded to Mobile where similar congresses were held with the Chickasaws and Choctaws. By the terms of the several treaties, the southern Indian tribes, except for the Cherokees, agreed to acknowledge the protectorate of Spain, to sell their furs only to the Spanish or their agents, and to exclude from their territories all traders except those licensed by Spanish authorities. [24]

One serious problem existed in connection with implementing the new Indian program. Spain's traditional mercantile policy rigidly excluded all participation of foreigners in her American

24. For the career of Alexander McGillivray see John W. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1938).

trade. Commerce had to be carried on in Spanish bottoms and American markets were reserved for Spanish merchants. However, the Indians were accustomed to British goods and, moreover, Spanish industry was unable to supply the merchandise needed in sufficient volume or at the prices to which the Indians were accustomed. The Spanish had to turn to British Indian traders. The most important of these was William Panton of the house of Panton, Leslie and Company. Pensacola soon became Panton's residence and the headquarters of the firm. [25] (For a full account of the operations of this firm see Panton, Leslie, and Company in this issue of *Florida Historical Quarterly.)*

In the conduct of Indian affairs, Pensacola was a focal point. The governor was directly responsible for relations with the adjacent Creek nations and, inasmuch as Mobile fell within his jurisdiction, with the Chickasaws and Choctaws whose territory lay in the hinterland beyond Mobile. Moreover, as we saw above, Pensacola became the headquarters of the Panton, Leslie Company, the principle agent of Spanish Indian policy. Indeed, until the early nineteenth century when other problems arose, considerations of Indian policy dominated Pensacola. Its principle economic activity was the Indian trade. In a sense, every government official was part of the Indian service and governors and commandants had to spend much of their time on Indian affairs. Distinguished Indian visitors were common and had to be met with protocol and dignity. A familiar sight on the streets was the visiting redman arrived for trade, pow-wow, or simply to inspect the unfathomable world of the white man. [26]

In the conduct of frontier defense, Spain operated from a position of weakness. Geography, population, and economic factors all favored the Americans. Also, after the death of Charles III in 1788, Spanish imperial decay resumed. As a result of these factors and increasing involvement in European wars, Spain was forced to seek a frontier settlement with the United States. In 1795 the Treaty of San Lorenzo was negotiated which provided for the establishment of the northern boundary of West Florida at about its present location and marked the abandon-

25. Arthur P. Whitaker, *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas* (Deland, Florida, 1931), Introduction, pp. xxx-xxxix.

26. Corbitt, "Spanish Administrative System." II, *Tequesta*, I (July, 1943), 67.

ment of Spanish claims to territory north of that line. The treaty marked the first step in the withdrawal of Spain from the Floridas. After that her position in Europe and American continued to deteriorate. Requests from her overseas. possessions for troops, money, and fortifications went unheeded. Colonial officials were left largely to their own resources and, in the case of the commandant of Pensacola, these were few indeed.

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS BOWLES

A graphic illustration of the waning of Spanish imperial power is illustrated in the inability to deal vigorously with a challenge which arose within the boundaries of Florida, itself: that is, the invasions of William Augustus Bowles.

Bowles, one of the most colorful figures in Florida's past, first appeared on the scene as an ensign in the regiment of Maryland loyalists which formed part of the garrison of Pensacola during the Spanish attack in 1781. After the fall of the city, Bowles, then a young lad of fifteen, remained in Florida and went to live among the Creeks. He adopted their customs, learned their language, married the daughter of one of their chiefs, and through this connection became a chief in his own right. In 1785, Bowles fell in with a British trading firm in Nassau, Miller and Bonamy, which was interested in breaking into Panton, Leslie's monopoly of the Indian trade in Florida. Bowles, in 1788, was sent to Florida with the mission of securing the cooperation of his friend, Alexander McGillivray, in reestablishing trade between Nassau and the Creeks in Florida.

Bowles soon evolved a project much broader in scope: nothing less than a creation of a new Indian nation to be carved out of territory then claimed by both the United States and Spain. The nucleus of the state was to be the Creeks and the Seminoles, but subsequently the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws were to be incorporated. Bowles' first important step in this direction was an attempt to secure British aid. In 1790, accompanied by several Creek and Cherokee Indians, he made his way to London where he represented himself and his companions as an official delegation from the "United Nation of the Creeks and Cherokees," and sought from the British government recognition of the Indian

State, a commercial treaty, and a military alliance. Bowles arrived a little too late to secure the most favorable atmosphere for negotiations since a break between England and Spain over the Nootka Sound controversy had been averted. He was, however, feted by British society and treated cordially by the government, possibly because he was regarded as a useful tool should England and Spain fall out again. Indeed he was partially successful in that all vessels flying the flag of the Creek and Cherokee Nation were granted access to free ports in the British West Indies.

Upon his return to Florida in the autumn of 1791, Bowles took definite steps to implement his scheme. He arranged for his supporters to elect him "Director of Affairs" of the Creek and Cherokee Nation, and addressed a memorial to the Spanish government demanding recognition of the new state and its right to establish free ports within its territory. In return Bowles offered friendship and an alliance between Spain and the United Nation of the Creeks and Cherokees. The Spanish government, of course, regarded Bowles as a dangerous troublemaker and this opinion was confirmed by his seizure of Panton's store at St. Marks in January, 1792. However, they were unable to apprehend him, and his downfall was only accomplished by treachery. Baron Carondelet, the governor of Louisiana, invited the Director of Affairs to New Orleans to discuss the proposed treaty. Here Bowles was summarily arrested and the first phase of his imperial design came to an abrupt and rather ignominious end.

During the next five years Bowles, as a Spanish prisoner, was shuttled from New Orleans to Havana, from Havana to Madrid, and from Madrid to Manila. Despite his record he was treated with courtesy and on occasions with deference, apparently because Spain recognized his influence among the Florida Indians and hoped to win his allegiance. Such treatment is in itself a commentary on the essentially defensive character of Spain's policy in the Floridas. It is likely that at the height of Spanish power in the New World, Bowles would have been summarily executed. Bowles accepted his courteous treatment as his due and then, while being transferred from the Philippines back to Madrid, he escaped in the British African colony of Sierra Leone, Here he was able to convince the governor that he was an important agent of British policy in America and was sent on to England.

Apparently unchastened by his captivity, Bowles returned to Florida in 1799, determined to go ahead with his plans for an Indian nation. A temporary headquarters was established on the

Ochlockonee River and here a congress of Seminoles and Lower Creeks elected him "Director General" of the "State of Muskogee," as the nation was now to be called. Mikasuke, a Seminole village near Tallahassee, was designated as the national capital and a national flag was designated. The motto "God Save the State of Muskogee" was adopted.

Bowles' principle concern, however, was his relations with Spain and the United States. In April, 1800, Muskogee declared war on Spain.

An army was formed consisting of Seminole warriors of the Tallahassee region and leavened by some of Bowles' white associates and a number of Negroes and mulattoes who had deserted from Spanish garrisons at St. Augustine and Pensacola. He personally led his army against St. Marks and forced the surrender of the post, but five days later a Spanish relief expedition forced Bowles to withdraw. The Director General also attempted to carry the war against Spain to the sea by forming a small navy. This force consisted of several vessels armed as privateers and in 1801 was launched against the enemy. Although its efforts were limited to the seizure of Spanish shipping, in this field of activity it experienced some success and caused Spanish authorities annoyance and embarrassment.

A raid was launched against his headquarters on the Ochlockonee River which failed, a reward of 4500 pesos was posted for his capture, and intrigues against him were conducted by Spanish agents among the Indian tribes. Yet it is significant that his downfall was accomplished not so much by Spain as by the American Indian agent, Benjamin Hawkins. In May, 1803, a general congress of Seminoles, Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws was held in American territory. It was anticipated that Bowles would attempt to promote his plans among the Indians, and careful plans for his arrest were laid by Hawkins and his friends among the Indians. He was seized by the Hawkins faction, placed in chains, and subsequently delivered to Governor Folch in Pensacola. On this occasion there was no spectacular escape. From Pensacola Bowles was taken to Havana and three years later died in a cell in Morro Castle. [27]

27. This account is abstracted from the author's "William Augustus Bowles and the State of Muskogee," a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society in March, 1954. The paper was based largely on transcripts of manuscripts from Spanish archives now in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

III. PENSACOLA AT THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Upon reacquisition of Pensacola, Spanish officials had high hopes of maintaining and expanding the prosperity that the British had achieved during their occupation. [28] However, their expectations were disappointed. Several factors worked against the development of the town. It was remote from the major centers of Spanish settlement in the New World, access was difficult, and it was situated on a wild, and possibly dangerous frontier. Moreover, government officials were so preoccupied with matters of defense that they could devote little time and few resources to internal development. These conditions discouraged immigration from other Spanish colonies, and the garrison character of the town with its shortage of marriageable women inhibited natural increase. Nor did American immigrants come to the district to the same extent as they did to Mobile, Natchez, and Baton Rouge, This was probably also due to its inaccessability and to the fact that the richer soils along the Mississippi, the Alabama, and the Tombigbee offered greater attractions.

Nevertheless, between 1783 and 1803 the town grew, but rather sporadically. In 1788 the civilian population was still only 265, [29] but in 1791 it had increased to 572. Of the latter total 292 were white Catholics, mostly Spanish and French creoles, and 114 Negro Catholics. The rest were white Protestants of British and American origin. [30] Then, when Spain went to war in March, 1793, a number of inhabitants, apparently fearing an attack on the town, departed reducing the population to 400. [31] By 1796 it had recovered to 673, [32] and in 1803 the French traveller, Paul Alliot, reported a population of 1000. [33]

During the same period some changes occurred in the physical appearance of the town. Early in the administration of Governor Vicente Folch (1795-1811) a section of land was detached from the central plaza, making Government Street its northern bound-

28. Navarro, "Political Reflections," p. 253; Hutchins, *Historical Narrative,* p. 77.
29. Curley, *Church and State,* p. 68.
30. *Ibid.,* p. 137.
31. Faye, "British and Spanish Fortifications," p. 282.
32. Curley, *Church and State,* p. 258.
33. "Historical and Political Reflections on Louisiana," Lorient, July 1, 1803, in Robertson, *Louisiana,* I, 107.

ary, and was subdivided into lots and sold at public auction. However, in 1806, Intendant Morales refused to confirm the titles thus rendering subtitles acquired through resale invalid. This situation laid the foundation for much future litigation. In general, the aspect of Pensacola was not impressive. [34] The houses were still of wood with the exception of William Panton's which was a three story brick mansion and by far the most impressive edifice in the area. [33] In 1791 the traveler, John Pope, wrote that while under the British flag Pensacola was well kept up, at the time of his visit a large part of the town was in ruinous condition. This impression was confirmed by later visitors. [36]

The economic life of Pensacola revolved around the arrival and disbursement of the situado and the activities of the Panton, Leslie Company. The company's operations were concerned primarily with the Indian trade, particularly deer skins, in return for which the natives received powder, ammunition, salt, blankets, and other trade goods. However, Panton, Leslie also engaged in other financial activities. It furnished the garrison with meat and other provisions which it obtained cheaply from the Indians, it acquired land from the Indians in payment for old debts, acted as chief banker to the governor and other white inhabitants and engaged in general commerce although this was illegal. When the fur trade fell off as a result of the westward movement of game, the versatile traders began to experiment with growing cotton and in 1802 imported a gin to encourage production of the commodity. [37] Panton's Indian trade is described by Pope. On the hill back of town, he wrote, Panton's store was located. Here came the Indians of the Upper and Lower Creek nations where they were "uniformly imposed on." The Indians traded their deerskins at fourteen pence sterling per pound for salt at nine shillings sterling per bushel. Panton brought the salt in his own bottoms from his own mines on Providence Island at an average expense of about three pence a bushel. "I think," Pope concludes, "his Goods at Mobile, Pensacola, and St. Marks are generally

34. Mrs. S. J. Gonzalez, "Pensacola. Its Early History," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. II (1909), 14.
35. Dovell, *Florida*, I, 161.
36. *A Tour Through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States of North-America; the Spanish Dominions on the River Mississippi, and the Floridas* (New York, 1792), pp. 43-46.
37. Whitaker, *Commercial Documents*, Introduction, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

vended at about Five Hundred per Cent of their prime Cost." Perhaps Pope may have been overestimating the profits but evidence indicates that the company was engaged in a profitable business. In 1804 its assets were listed at 396,800 pesos. [38]

Some indication of the trade of Pensacola is given in the following lists of imports and exports: [39]

IMPORTS AT PENSACOLA AND MOBILE, 1797

Bricks	10,000
Kettles, copper	155
Limburg, pieces	354 1/2
Linsey, pieces	60
Shingles, large	26,000
Shingles, small	7,500
Vermilion, pounds	200
Wine, Bordeaux, in casks	84
Wine, Bordeaux, in boxes	40

IMPORTS AT PENSACOLA, MOBILE AND ST. MARKS, 1798

Bricks	2,000
Coffee, pounds	322
Limburg, bales	12
Linsey, bales	3
Linsey, sacks	6
Playing cards, dozens	6
Salt, barrels	250
Window glass, boxes	2
Wine, Bordeaux, casks	20
Wine, Bordeaux, boxes	10
Wine, white, barrels	6
Wine, white, pipes	2
Wine, Port, hogshead	1

38. Pope, *Tour*, pp. 44-45.
39. These tables are reproduced from Whitaker, *Commercial Documents*, pp. 256-257.

EXPORTS AT PENSACOLA, 1797

Cotton, pounds	696
Cowhides	162
Logwood, pounds	24,328
Skins: beaver, pounds	712
Skins: deer, pounds	211,223½
Skins: fox, pounds	174
Skins: otter, pounds	698
Skins: rat, pounds	540
Skins: wild cat, pounds	77
Skins: wolf, pounds	6

The tables do not include, however, one commodity which Alliot mentions in his report of 1803; that is, a yellow earth which was exported to New Orleans where it was used to coat and decorate houses. Alliot gives the impression that this was an important export. Were it not for the production of this material, he states, hardly ten ships would visit Pensacola a year. [40]

When Spain went to war in 1793, the fortifications of the town became an important consideration. Baron Carondelet, the governor of Louisiana, visited Pensacola in 1794 and made recommendations which were not carried out. However, in 1796 Spain again went to war, this time against England, and the battery of San Antonio was strengthened and assumed much the same form that in a great part it preserves today, and a stockade was hurriedly raised on the cliffs of Barrancas. Thus, by the opening of the nineteenth century, the entrance to the bay was protected by three installations. [41]

THE CHURCH

Meanwhile, the church in Pensacola continued to experience difficulties arising from lack of funds, the difficulty of obtaining and keeping priests, and the indifference and even the opposition of the military authorities. In 1785 a second priest, Father Esteban Valorio, was assigned to Pensacola as chaplain of the troops and had to take over the spiritual care of both St. Michael's parish and the troops of the garrison. The condition of the

40. "Historical and Political Reflections," I, 107-108.
41. Faye, "British and Spanish Fortifications," pp. 284-287.

church is illuminated by the ecclesiastical visit of Father Cyril de Barcelona in 1791. The place of worship was still the old converted warehouse but it was found to be decently ornamented. The inhabitants of the city, however, were very lax in their religious observances. On Easter of the previous year only seven parishioners had received Holy Communion. Witnesses, however, testified to Father Valorio's zeal and disinterested service. One of the most serious shortcomings of the parish was the lack of a school. On the request of the parishioners, Father Cyril agreed to use all his influence to have one established.

Unfortunately, the visit produced no real improvement in Pensacola's religious life. The shortage of priests continued. Since he was only allowed to say one mass a day, some four hundred of his people failed to fulfill their religious obligations. TO remedy the situation Father Vivac was dispatched to Pensacola to occupy the old position of pastor's assistant and chaplain to the troops. Another problem arose, however, in the fact that Father Valorio could not speak English and his Anglo-American parishioners chose to forego his ministrations. For this reason he was replaced in 1793 by Father Lennon, an Irish priest who spoke English. Father Valorio had begged for a new church. In 1793 he reported that the warehouse was in shabby condition. When he proposed to raise funds by establishing a pew-rent, he was forbidden to do so by Governor Enrique White. Even with the population increase that occurred toward the end of the century it proved to be impossible to secure a proper church building, and petitions for a school produced no results. [42]

Despite its rustic, frontier character, Pensacola, according to travelers who visited the town around the turn of the century, must have been a pleasant place. Without exception they speak of the salubrious climate. In 1803 Paul Alliot asserted that the town was so healthy that the inhabitants were almost never sick and lived to advanced ages. "Physicians make not fortune there," he asserted, "as it is by no means rare to find old gentlemen of eighty or ninety." [43] Commandant O'Neill remarked to John Pope that he had not once been sick during his entire residence there and that all Pensacolans enjoyed uninterrupted good health except for the garrison. Too much spirits, bad wine, highly seasoned

42. Curley, *Church and State*, pp. 86-87, 137-140, 237-239, 269.
43. "Historical and Political Reflections," I, 109.

meats, and venery undermined the physical condition of the soldiers. [44]

Although imported goods were extremely expensive, the area, itself, provided a supply of basic foodstuffs. Beef raised by the Indians was plentiful, local gardens produced an abundance of truck vegetables, and the sea yielded a rich harvest of fish, lobsters, crabs and oysters. Pope remarked that there were all kinds of perennial fruits in quantity except for apples. [45]

Social and business life was relaxed and easy going. Alliot stated that lawsuits were not common and that litigants defended themselves. "Lawyers, solicitors, and bailiffs who gnaw and destroy the fortunes of families are not to be seen as in France," he wrote. [46] With no schools, a healthy climate, and the absence of litigation, Pensacola appears to have offered few opportunities for professional men! Social diversions are described by John McQueen: "The inhabitants are half French and they you know will dance and be merry anywhere; so altho the society is but small we generally of a Sunday evening have a kick up at some of their houses, but they take great care at the same time, that it should not lead them to expence, for they give you no kind of refreshment, but cold watter, to wash down their dirty talk, for they have totally banished delicacy from their conversations. -But they certainly surpass the English in dancing which they really do well . . . .'" [47]

There was, however, one dissenting opinion from the generally favorable impressions of visitors. "This country," wrote Andrew Ellicott in June, 1799, "is hot both day and night, and cursed with poverty, and muskittoes: - The inhabitants of the town have to import earth to make their gardens with. What Bartram has described as Paradise appears to be like a purgatory, but somewhat worse! A Principality would not induce me to stay in it one hour longer than I could possibly avoid it. - If it had not been for pride I would certainly have run away from it six months ago. It might do for a place of Banishment." Nevertheless, he was forced to admit that Pensacola was remarkably healthy and the bay a beautiful body of water which produced an abundance of fine

44. Pope, *Tour*, p. 44.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.
46. "Historical and Political Reflections," I, 107.
47. *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to his Family* . . . (Columbia, S. C., 1943), p. 33.

seafood. "The harbor," he said, "is justly considered one of the best on the whole coast.'' [48]

* * *

IV. PENSACOLA AND THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

At about the turn of the century, Spain's involvement in European affairs produced developments which had a profound influence on Pensacola. These had to do with the transfer of Louisiana. By and large, Spain had discovered that the province was a liability. Its upkeep was costly and it threatened constantly to involve her in war with the United States. Ever since 1795 she had been willing to dispose of it - to a friendly nation, of course. The opportunity presented itself with the Spanish-French alliance and the rise of Napoleon. Napoleon dreamed of recreating a French Empire in America and was willing to make certain territorial concessions in Europe to Spain. The Spanish were willing. If France took aver Louisiana, she, not Spain would have to bear the burden of checking American expansion. On this basis of mutual interest arrangements were made in 1800 for the transfer. However, as far as Spain was concerned, the arrangement miscarried badly. Napoleon, faced with a renewal of his struggle with England, decided he needed cash more than an American empire and sold the province to the United States in 1803 without consulting his Spanish ally. The latter assumed title only twenty days after Spanish officials in New Orleans delivered the city to the French.

The immediate effect on Pensacola of the Spanish disposal of Louisiana was stimulating. Formerly dependent on New Orleans, it now became a province in its own right. In effect it inherited the position of New Orleans. The commandant took over the title and functions formerly exercised by the governor of Louisiana and West Florida, and a good part of the governmental establishment was transferred from New Orleans to the new capital. In recognition of his new status, the governor of West Florida was provided with an *auditor de guerra*, a trained legal officer, to assist in handling civil and criminal cases, and he was allowed a secretary. The latter was chosen from among the subalterns of

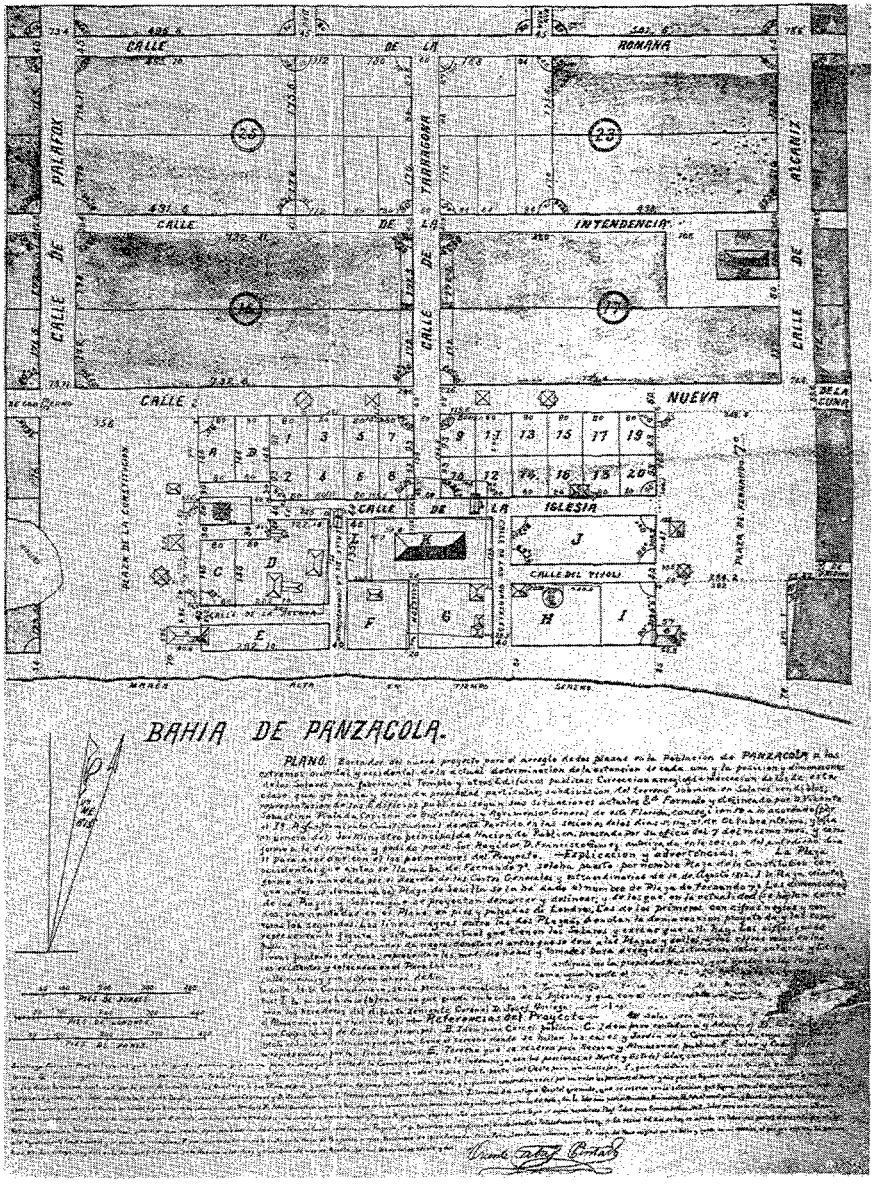
48. Letter to his wife, Pensacola, June 18, 1799, Catherine C. Mathews, *Andrew Ellicott, His Life and Letters* (New York, 1908), p. 169.

the garrison and was paid a salary of 250 pesos annually. [49] Also, the rest of the Regiment of Louisiana which had been stationed in New Orleans and in posts along the Mississippi was transferred to West Florida. [50] It must be noted, however, that even with the arrival of these reinforcements the garrison of Pensacola was hardly an effective fighting force. It remained consistently understrength, and discipline and morale were poor. Governors were unanimous in their warnings that they could not defend the town in case of any real attack. [51]

During the first decade of the nineteenth century there also occurred a general loosening of trade restrictions as they applied to Pensacola. In 1804 Governor Vincente Folch legalized the general commerce with the colonists in which the Panton, Leslie Company had been engaged for some time. At the same time the company's monopoly was substantially modified. In 1804 Folch abolished the duty of six percent on shipments from New Orleans to West Florida under the Spanish flag and, although illegal, he opened trade between Pensacola and the Americans in New Orleans. He, himself, contracted for 1500 barrels of contraband flour. Finally, in 1806, on the advice of the intendant, he threw open the commerce of West Florida to all neutral nations including the United States. The fact of the matter was that Spain and the Panton, Leslie Company, which depended on England and her Caribbean colonies for goods, could no longer supply adequately the government and the inhabitants of Pensacola. Trade fell more and more into the hands of the Americans. [52]

The transfer of the government from New Orleans to Pensacola and a greater freedom of trade encouraged the internal development of the town. In 1810 the population was in the neighborhood of 1000 souls and growing. The physical appearance of Pensacola is described in a newspaper article which appeared in the *St. Louis Gazette* in September of the same year. There were three streets running east and west, and five north and south. The former were from 3528 to 3630 feet in length and the latter from 1320 to 1485 feet. The widest were about ninety

49. Corbitt, "Spanish Administrative System," II, 57-59.
50. Claiborne to Madison, New Orleans, March 2, 1804, in Robertson, *Louisiana,* II, 256.
51. Folch to the Marques de Someruelos, February 21, 1805, AGI:PC, legajo 1573; Mauricio de Zuniga to Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, February 3, 1813, AGI:PC, legajo 1797.
52. Whitaker, *Commercial Documents,* Introduction, pp. lvi-lix.



PENSACOLA, 1813. V. S. PINTADO.

feet but some were only about half that width. On the main street which paralleled the bay there were about eighty houses. These were fairly evenly distributed with many lots unbuilt upon giving the town an airy appearance. The other two parallel streets were less populous, one of them having about seventy dwellings and the other about sixty. As was the case earlier, all except Panton's house (occupied by John Forbes since Panton's death in 1802), were of wood, generally one story high, and with porches facing on the street. There were no public buildings which merited the particular attention of the writer except for a large, capacious two story structure which formerly was the residence of the British governor and which in 1810 was being used as a barracks, and the warehouse which still served as a church. Also, there was a small rotunda for public balls and adjacent to it were rooms used for gambling, a diversion which was very popular in Pensacola.

There was no public market. In fact, there was no regular supply of food except for beef, seafood, and truck vegetables grown in private gardens. There were two licensed butchers, one for the civilian population and the other for the troops. These usually purchased their beeves in herds which were driven over from the American settlements on the Mobile, the Tombigbee, and the Alabama. Live hogs were occasionally brought in from the Tombigbee and some even came from as far away as western Tennessee.

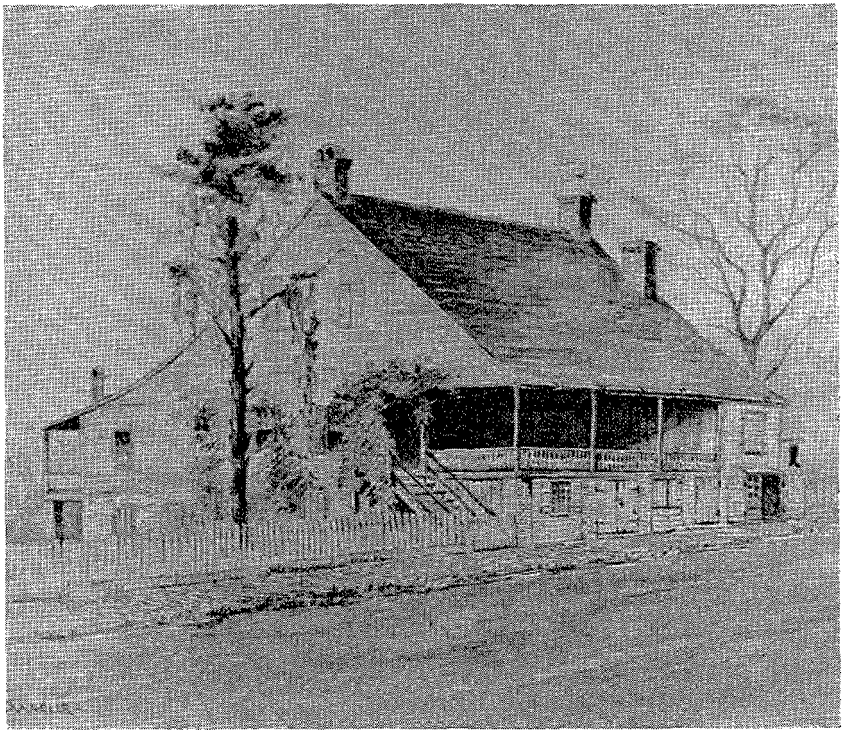
Most of the population still depended directly or indirectly on the government establishment. There were a large number of stores in view of the size of the town. Stocks, exclusive of groceries, were purchased from American merchants in New Orleans. American homespun cotton, for example, was available in Pensacola shops. In addition to the regular mercantile establishments, Negro women peddled goods from baskets which they carried about the streets. The artisan population was small. There were a few carpenters and one or two tailors, but no printers, potters, tinsmiths, coppersmiths, watchmakers, hatters, or saddlers and probably no silversmiths, blacksmiths, or bootmakers. For most manufactured goods, Pensacola still had to depend on imports. There was one small tavern kept by an American, and visitors were occasionally admitted into private homes on the same terms as in public houses.

Two small industries had been established. About sixteen miles from town on a branch of the Escambia were two sawmills which produced pine boards. These were owned in part by Governor Folch and sold most of their output to Veracruz and New Orleans. On the opposite side of the bay from town was a brickyard which produced not only bricks but excellent paving tile. [53]

During the next three years Pensacola continued to grow. The census of June 13, 1813 shows that the population had reached a peak of 3,063, most of whom were French creoles, Scots, and Irish. The next year the town underwent some significant physical changes. The gardens which had formerly brightened the environs were cut into lots and sold at auction, but none of them were improved. Some of the streets within the town were blocked by constructing houses on them or shutting them off as building lots. The plaza, also, was partially subdivided leaving only two public squares named Ferdinand and Isabella respectively. Each was 500 by 300 feet. New streets were laid out to meet the "general confusion," some thirty, some forty, and some sixty feet in width. They still maintained their natural surface and in strong winds the inhabitants were treated to clouds of dust and sand. [54]

Despite the growth of the town, the parish of St. Michael continued to have a difficult time. In 1807 Father James Coleman, an Irish priest, served as pastor and also as vicar for the Bishop in the Floridas. Also, three other priests served the district as chaplains with the garrison. However, the poverty of the parish, the uncooperativeness of government officials, and the presence of many Protestant Americans made Pensacola unpopular, and turnover was rapid. Moreover, the parish was still using the old warehouse for worship, and no school had been built. The health of the church was further undermined by dissensions with the government as in the case of Father Jose Santigo Vives, a chaplain of the Regiment of Louisiana. According to the charges against him, Father Vives consorted with the lowest classes, was indiscreet in his speech, attacked verbally all persons of French descent or sympathies, and was careless in the performance of his ministry. As a result, he was expelled by the governor in 1810.

53. "Pensacola in 1810," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXII (1953), 44-48.
54. Williams, *View of West Florida,* p. 75.



Residence of Intendant on Intendencia Street
(Sketched several decades after 1821)

Although partially vindicated in Havana he never returned to Pensacola. [55] Finally, the retrocession of Louisiana to France had created problems of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which left the parish of St. Michael without proper direction. [56]

The transfer of the government to Pensacola added some tone to the social life of the town. The wife of the governor was the focal point of society and the wives of subordinate officials were her satellites. As with women everywhere and always, style was a topic which received important consideration. In Pensacola feminine attire followed the French fashion. Dresses were without trains and had short sleeves, and, as Claude Robin put it, "Suggest the form without emphasizing it. . . ." They were, he added,

55. Curley, *Church and State*, pp. 320, 329-331.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 281-283, 306.

particularly appropriate to a country where the summers were long and hot. By and large, however, social life remained informal and democratic and amusements were limited. Robin found that a billiard table was the general rendezvous of male society and around it everyone gathered from the governor to the lowest workman. Here, he observed, "the shoemaker is seen in as good society as the soldier of the highest rank, . . . equality reigns, not that which descends to the coarse manners of the people, but that which elevates the man of the people to the more civil manners of society . . . one does not see there either the gossip or the wise man; one plays there and one drinks there, punch or other refreshments; one talks there, but only to talk." [57]

V. A TIME OF TROUBLES: REBELLION, ANDREW JACKSON, AND THE FILIBUSTERS

Although the status of Pensacola was indirectly raised by the Louisiana Purchase, its strategic position continued to deteriorate. The Americans were brought much closer on the west and even within Spanish territory trouble was brewing. In the Baton Rouge and Mobile districts most of the population was American and these settlers possessed standing grievances against restrictions on self-government, land speculation, and religious freedom.

Unrest reached a climax in the West Florida Rebellion [60] and it created considerable alarm in Pensacola. Not only was the isolation and vulnerability of the province increased, but subversion and rebellion threatened to spread east of the Pearl. In August, Governor Folch received secret intelligence that the American inhabitants of Mobile were planning to rise against the Spanish authorities in October at the latest. Folch felt that his circumstances were so desperate that unless help arrived he would be unable to succor Mobile or, for that matter, hold Pensacola in case that city was threatened. These sentiments he communicated to the captain general in Havana along with a plan to salvage something from the situation. Briefly, his proposal was to enter into negotiations with the United States for the establishment of a definitive boundary between Louisiana and Texas. Pending the outcome of the negotiations, West Florida was to be placed in

57. As quoted in Dovell, *Florida,* I, 160.

deposit with the United States. If the boundary could be established along a line satisfactory to Spain, Florida would then be ceded to the United States; if not, it would revert to Spain. [61] When this plan brought no response, Folch, on his own initiative, offered to turn West Florida over to the United States if help did not arrive before January 1, 1811. Folch's offer, of course, fell in line with the ambitions of the American government. President Madison secured from Congress an appropriation of $100,000 and the authority to use the armed forces of the country to occupy both East and West Florida if delivered by the Spanish or to prevent the occupation of these territories by a third power. George Mathews, former governor of Georgia, and Colonel McKee, Indian agent, were dispatched to Pensacola to open negotiations with Folch. However, when they arrived in March, 1811, they found that Folch had changed his mind and was determined to hold what was left of the Floridas for the Spanish crown. [62]

In the meantime, the governor was faced with the threat of subversion within his own garrison. Excited by developments in Spain and inflamed by liberal proclamations issuing from the Spanish *juntas,* a group of officers led by Captain Rafael Croelher formed a society to discuss political questions. The society, however, soon turned from political discussion to political action, following the course pursued by many of their brothers-in-arms in other parts of Spanish America. Their objectives are not quite clear. They, themselves, maintained that they were dissatisfied with Folch's passive stand in response to the threat to West Florida and wished to force him to adopt more positive measures. There is also a suspicion that they actually hoped to depose the governor and establish some sort of junta of self-government - in the name of Ferdinand VII, of course. At any rate, Folch charged them with attempting to undermine and subvert his authority.

Matters came to a head on October 24, 1810. On that day rumors began circulating in Pensacola to the effect that a force of some 2000 men composed of rebels from Baton Rouge and a number of French vagabonds were assembled near Mobile with the purpose of seizing that city and Pensacola and massacring the

60. The West Florida Rebellion and the events associated with it are ably treated in Isaac J. Cox, *The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813* . . . (Baltimore, 1918).
61. Folch to Someruelos, August 13, 1810, AGI:PC, legajo 1575.
62. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1812,* pp. 73-75.

inhabitants. These reports aroused deep consternation among the inhabitants of the capital who demanded that Folch take some action. Folch attributed the rumors to the dissident officers and asserted that they tried to cause the people to rise against the government by telling them that they could not rely on an official who, in the face of such a threat, took no steps for the defense of the city. On the basis of his own intelligence reports, Folch discounted the reports. However, the governor convoked a military council, not so much to consider defense measures, as to reassure the people. This step together with a public proclamation discrediting the rumors served to quiet the disturbance. The officers' conspiracy was broken up by transferring the leaders to other stations. [33]

Events in Spain continued to be reflected in Pensacola. In 1812 a liberal constitution was adopted in the mother country which provided for municipal self-government for all communities within the empire which had 1000 or more citizens. Although there was some argument as to whether or not the town qualified as a municipality, it was authorized to elect four *regidores* (councilmen), an *alcalde* (an official who combined the functions of mayor and justice of the peace), and a *sindico-procurador* (town delegate). Vincente Ordozgoity, a leading merchant, was chosen as *alcalde.* The innovation proved to be a lively source of dispute since both the governor and the *alcalde* claimed that they should exercise all civil functions within the town limits. In 1814, however, the new constitution was abrogated and Pensacola reverted to its status as a military garrison. [64]

With the outbreak of the War of 1812, Pensacola faced another crisis. Although Spain was officially neutral in the struggle, she was allied with Britain in the Peninsular War and the United States feared that the British might use Florida as a base for operations against her southern frontier. On the other hand, what posed a threat might also be considered as an opportunity: that is, a justification for the achievement of a long standing ambition, the annexation of the Floridas. Indeed there was little doubt in the minds of southern frontiersmen that this was the main objective of the war.

63. Folch to Someruelos, October 26, 1810, AGI:PC, legajo 1575; *idem.* to *idem.,* October 29, *ibid.*
64. Corbitt, "Spanish Administrative System," II, 45-46, 59-60.

American operations against the Floridas began before the outbreak of hostilities with Britain. It will be remembered that shortly after the West Florida Rebellion, President Madison had asserted the claim of the United States to West Florida as far east as the Perdido but had only occupied the territory to the Pearl. Early in the Spring of 1812, General James Wilkinson, commanding the American forces in New Orleans, was ordered to complete the occupation of the region claimed. Wilkinson moved against Mobile in April and on the fifteenth of that month the helpless Spanish commander surrendered the town without bloodshed. Shortly thereafter the territory between the Pearl and the Perdido was incorporated into the Mississippi Territory. Thus the western boundary of Spanish Florida was pushed to within a few miles of Pensacola.

In the meantime American apprehensions of British intervention in Florida proved to be justified. Even before the outbreak of the war British agents were active, stirring up unrest among the southern Indians and with some success. A faction of the Upper Creeks, alarmed by American encroachments on their lands, became increasingly hostile. This element was known as the Redsticks. In the summer of 1813 a large party of the dissidents visited Pensacola, obtained a large quantity of ammunition, and announced their intention of attacking the Americans.[65] In August the Redsticks went on the warpath, precipitating what is known as the Creek War. Hostilities opened with a series of setbacks for the Americans. However, in the winter of 1813-1814 General Andrew Jackson, commanding a combined force of regulars and militia, took the field and administered a decisive defeat to the Indians in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend in March, 1814. By the terms of the treaty imposed by Jackson, the Indians lost two-thirds of their lands in Georgia and Alabama. As a result, the buffer zone that the Spanish had tried to create on their northern frontier was virtually eliminated and Spanish influence in West Florida was reduced for all practical purposes to Pensacola and St. Marks.

In Jackson's mind the Indian campaign was simply a preliminary operation. In many ways he epitomized the western attitude. He had no doubt about his ultimate objective; that was Florida. Indeed he assured his Tennessee militiamen when they

65. Cubberly, "Fort George," p. 231.

mobilized that West Florida was to be their theater of operations. Shortly after his victory over the Redsticks he had written to the Secretary of War: "*Query* . . . Will the government say to me, ... 'proceed to - [obviously Pensacola] and reduce it.' If so I promise the War in the South has a speedy termination and the British influence forever cut off from the Indians in that quarter." While in Creek country negotiating the Indian treaty, he sent John Garden, a woodsman and captain of a scout company, to Pensacola. Garden carried a letter from the general to Governor Manrique demanding the surrender of three fugitive chiefs and an explanation of British proceedings in Spanish territory. "Disagreeable consequences" were hinted at in case of an unfavorable reply. Garden's interview with the governor was brief. Manrique regarded Jackson's message as impertinent, refused to withdraw Spanish protection from the Indian chiefs, and would not acknowledge the existence of the British activities against which Jackson was protesting.

Shortly thereafter General Jackson received further aggravation. In August, 1814, two English men of war appeared in Pensacola Bay and put ashore a force of 200 marines under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Edward Nicholls and Captain George Woodbine. The Spanish commander offered no resistance. Indeed he cooperated with the British and allowed them to occupy the fortifications that guarded the city. Those installations which had deteriorated badly, particularly Fort San Miguel, were partially repaired by the newcomers. Colonel Nicholls began to enlist Indians who were supplied with British arms and drilled in the streets of the town. Proclamations were issued denouncing the Americans, and Nicholls even attempted to form an alliance with the Louisiana pirate, Jean Laffite - with no success it should be added.

Although Jackson had received no reply to his "Query," this was too much for him to bear. At Pierce Stockade in Alabama he gathered a force of about 3000 men, 700 of whom were regulars, and on November 2, 1814, he set out for Pensacola. On the sixth he appeared before the town. Major Pierce of the Forty-Ninth Infantry was dispatched under a flag of truce to demand that the British depart and that Forts Barrancas, San Miguel, and Santa Rosa be garrisoned by United States troops until "Spain could preserve unimpaired her neutral character." The flag, how-

ever, was fired upon and Jackson prepared to attack. The British and Spanish had planned their defense to meet an attack from the west along the wide white beach since the eastern approach was narrow and difficult of access. Jackson, therefore, decided to attack from the east. About an hour before dawn on the seventh, he led his army from camp and began quietly to circle the town, leaving five hundred men to created a diversion from the west. By the time that sunrise had revealed Jackson's approach, it was too late to change defensive dispositions, but the defenders posted a battery at the head of a street, and garden walls on the east side of the town were manned by infantry. When Jackson gave the signal for the assault, the American forces moved in three columns, one on the beach and two above it. Against artillery fire from the battery and small arms volleys from the defenders, Jackson's troops fought their way into town, clearing garden walls and rooftops as they advanced. Jackson, who was directing the assault in person, was informed that Commandant Manrique, old and infirm, was frantically scurrying about with a white flag trying to find him. Arrangements were made for the two to meet at the Government House and here the surrender of Pensacola was arranged. In the meantime, the British forces had withdrawn to their ships and to Fort San Carlos. The Spanish displayed such bad faith and procrastinated so long in surrendering Fort San Miguel that Jackson had to delay an attack on San Carlos until the following morning. When he arrived on the eighth he was too late. The British fleet had dropped down the bay, picked up the defenders of San Carlos, and sailed away. Before they departed they destroyed the battery of Santa Rosa by fire, demolished the fort of San Carlos and the adjoining hamlet, and spiked the guns of the battery of San Antonio.

Jackson would undoubtedly have liked to hold Pensacola, but without the approval of his government and, inasmuch as the British had been driven off and the Spanish taught a lesson, he evacuated the town. Before departing however, he informed Governor Manrique that his actions had been undertaken only to preserve Spanish neutrality and reproached him for his bad faith. [66]

66. The account of Jackson's invasion of Florida in 1814 is based on Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1938), Chapters IX-XI.

The events of 1814 reversed the development of Pensacola that followed the Louisiana Purchase. The British with Jackson's help had literally destroyed the fortifications of the town, and the garrison, which in 1816 was composed of the remnants of the Regiment of Louisiana plus a handful of Negro and mulatto troops, was largely ineffective. As it became more and more obvious that Spain could not hold Pensacola or protect its citizens, trade fell off and many inhabitants emigrated. By 1816 the population had fallen to 500 and in May, 1818, it reached a low of 400. [67]

Although Pensacola enjoyed a brief period of peace after the departure of Jackson, its tranquility was soon interrupted from another direction. The revolutionary governments of Latin America turned to the sea in their war against Spain and commissioned privateers to attack Spanish shipping and Spanish settlements in royalist hands. To these quasi-official privateers were added adventurers of many nations who seized upon the Spanish-American revolutions as an excuse to raid and loot with only the loosest authority or none at all. Collectively the sea raiders were known as filibusters.

In 1816, Spanish intelligence agents reported that there were serious prospects of a filibuster attack on Pensacola. Various motives were attributed for their interest in the town: seizure of arms to be used by the Spanish-American revolutionists, occupation as a base for operations against royalist Mexico, acquisition with the object of subsequent sale to the United States for two or three million dollars. Such reports were accompanied by rumors that the filibusters were acting with the knowledge and even the approval of the United States. The names most frequently associated with such plots were Francisco Xavier Mina, a Spanish liberal who had cast his lot with the insurgents, and Luis Aury, a privateer in the service of the Mexican revolutionary government.

Repeated rumors and reports naturally alarmed the inhabitants of Pensacola who were quite aware of the defenseless state of their town. They were soon provided with some grounds for their apprehension. On December 8, 1816, there appeared off Fort San Carlos the privateer *Independencia* commanded by Job Northrup.

67. Faye, "British and Spanish Fortifications," p. 289; Faye, "Privateersmen," p. 1056.

Although the vessel was commissioned by the Mexican insurgents it was flying the American flag. Northrup, concealing his real identity, informed the pilot sent out to meet him that he was an American captain carrying dispatches from New Orleans to Jose Masot, the governor of Pensacola. Masot, however, was suspicious of the visitor and ordered Francisco de Ballestre, who commanded at San Carlos, to send an officer to establish the identity of the visitor. Ballestre detailed Lieutenant Juan Balguerra for the mission. Upon boarding the vessel, Balguerra and the men who accompanied him were seized by Northrup. The filibusters then dispatched what amounted to a ransom note to Masot. After informing him of the fact that he was sailing with a commission from the Mexican government, Northrup assured him that he had no hostile intentions against the Spanish. But, he continued, if $50,000 were not delivered to him as a contribution for the Mexican government within twenty-four hours, Balguerra and fourteen other prisoners would be dealt with harshly. Furthermore, he threatened to report any recalcitrance on the part of Masot to the commander of his squadron [which did not exist]. If the ransom was not forthcoming, Pensacola would be seized and sacked.

Masot was not intimidated by Northrup's allusion to his "squadron," and convened a council of war to discuss the demands. The decision was to reinforce San Carlos with twenty-five men and not to pay one *maravedi* to the filibusters. Masot's answer to Northrup was couched in derisive tones. The facts of the situation were announced in a "Proclamation to the People" which called the militia to arms and expressed the patriotic sentiment that "they would not turn their backs to the enemy." Convinced that his bluff had been called, the privateer captain freed the prisoners unharmed and sailed away with empty hands.

Although Northrup's extortion plan failed, the filibuster threat to Pensacola continued. Indeed, there are some grounds for believing that the *Independencia* had been sent to reconnoiter the town preparatory to a real attack. Spanish agents in New Orleans reported that Mina was preparing an expedition of between 1000 and 1400 men at Galveston for an assault on the capital of West Florida in January, 1817. Other evidence indicates that there was some substance to the reports. These alarms caused Masot to take extraordinary defense measures. Orders were issued to strengthen

San Carlos; all able-bodied men between sixteen and sixty not already enrolled in the militia were to be enlisted, armed, and drilled; all male slaves capable of bearing arms or performing labor were to be registered; horses, oxen, boats, and carts were to be requisitioned; a committee of vigilance was to be organized and a proclamation of the governor to the "Loyal Sons and Daughters and Valorous citizens of West Florida" was issued. The proclamation warned against traitors, assured the people of protection in case of attack, and exhorted them to contribute supplies for the defense of the town. In conclusion, it asked the men to "encourage their families, to fill them with confidence and assurances, and to make them say with me: 'Long live the King and long live the inhabitants of West Florida.' " At the same time that local defenses were being readied, urgent appeals for help were dispatched to the captain general in Havana.

The dreaded filibuster attack did not materialize in January, but reports of hostile preparations continued to come in for several months. In the meantime, the city remained tense and alert. However, events were working in favor of Pensacola. The filibusters could not agree among themselves or with their financial backers about the details of the operation, and the plot against the town was abandoned. However, Florida was not spared entirely. Later in the year Aury and another adventurer, Gregor MacGregor raised the Mexican flag over Amelia Island and managed to maintain themselves there for three months. [68]

While the threat of the filibusters hung over Pensacola, pressure from the United States for the cession of the Floridas continued. Shortly after the Northrup incident an exchange of notes took place between the Spanish minister in Washington, Luis de Onis, and Monroe which disclosed that Spain was willing to cede Florida - but only if the United States would yield its claims to all lands west of the Mississippi. Discussions proceeded on this basis for over a year without producing results.

Diplomatic negotiations were conducted against a background of alarums and excursions along the southern frontier. The principal source of trouble was the continued activities of British agents among the Florida and Georgia Indians. After departing

68. Harris G. Warren, "Pensacola and the Filibusters, 1816-1817," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXI (1938), 806-822, XXII, 1056-1059.

Pensacola, Colonel Nicholls and Captain Woodbine built a fort at Prospect Bluff on the Apalachicola which was a continuous source of trouble and incited the Indians and renegade Negroes against the Americans. As a result of these activities, in 1818 General Jackson was again ordered into Florida, and in a lightning campaign the Indians were chastised and two English agents, Armbrister and Arbuthnot were captured and summarily executed.

Back in American territory, Jackson received word that hostile savages were being sheltered by the governor of Pensacola. This was all the excuse he needed. On May 7, 1818, he left Fort Gadsden and after a forced march of 275 miles appeared before the capital of West Florida on May 22. The next day Governor Masot protested to Jackson vigorously and demanded that the Americans withdraw. If not, they would be expelled by force-a rather futile threat since the invaders outnumbered the garrison by more than four to one. The protest was merely a gesture, however. On the same day Masot retired to San Carlos leaving the town guarded by a few troops under the command of Luis Piernas, and in the evening Jackson occupied Pensacola and the remains of Fort San Miguel without bloodshed.

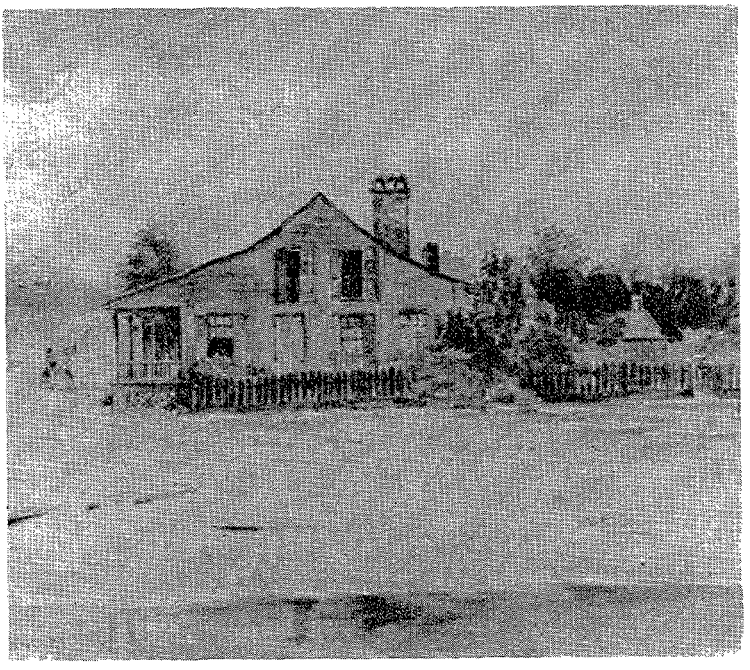
Jackson sent a dispatch to Masot demanding that Pensacola and San Carlos be surrendered and garrisoned by American troops until Spain could furnish some guarantee for the security of the frontier. Masot referred the general to Piernas who, of course, was powerless to act. Jackson then sent a second summons to the governor and when this was refused, marched to Fort San Carlos. On the evening of May 25, Jackson again called upon Masot to surrender, pointing out that resistance was futile and would only cost the lives of many brave men. When the third summons was rejected, the fort was invested and American batteries were installed within four hundred yards of it. The Spanish opened fire on the American positions and the fire was returned with vigor, but before the action could develop Governor Masot decided that his honor and that of his king had been preserved. A white flag was raised in the fort, a truce was signed, and the next day articles of capitulation were drawn up. By their terms it was agreed that the Spanish garrison should march out with full honors of war and that the troops should be transported to Cuba.

During the next five days Jackson completely overturned Spanish rule in Pensacola. Announcing that the United States in the interests of its own defense was compelled to seize those parts of Florida in which Spanish authority could not be maintained, he deposed the governor, seized and signed for royal property in the town and its environs, and declared United States revenue laws in force. American military government was established and American garrisons installed in the fortifications. A proclamation guaranteed protection of public and private property, freedom of worship, and freedom of trade. Then after arranging for the evacuation of the Spanish garrison, staff, and governor, Jackson departed Florida, leaving it to the diplomats to disentangle the situation he had created.

The situation did indeed need untangling. Although Spain, under the Treaty of San Lorenzo, was responsible for the conduct of her Indians, Jackson had acted in a very high-handed manner, seizing Spanish property, killing Spanish citizens, and summarily executing subjects of the British crown. In Washington, Minister Onis approached the Secretary of State in the middle of the night. "In the name of the King, my master," he declaimed, "I demand a prompt restitution of St. Marks, Pensacola, and Barrancas, and all other places wrested by General Jackson from the Crown of Spain. I demand . . . indemnity for all injuries and losses, and the punishment of the general." For three days the president's cabinet met from noon to five to consider the case of General Andrew Jackson. Should his actions be supported or repudiated? A compromise was finally effected. The president refused either to punish or censure the general. It was agreed, however, that the posts taken from Spain should be restored. In the meantime, negotiations for the cession of the Floridas should be reopened. [69]

On February 4, 1819, *mariscal de campo* Juan Maria Echevarria, commissioned to receive Pensacola from the Americans, arrived in the port accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel Jose de Callava, the new governor, and a garrison of twenty-four officers and four hundred and eighty-three enlisted men from several Spanish line regiments. The official transfer was made four days later. All suspected, however, that the return of Spain was only temporary. Pensacola and the Floridas would pass to the United

69. James, *Andrew Jackson,* Chap. XVIII; Caroline M. Brevard, *A History of Florida* (2 vols. DeLand, 1924), pp. 45-55.



GONZALEZ RESIDENCE
(Alcaniz Street on the Bay)

States. The question was only when and under what circumstances. [70]

VI. PENSACOLA ON THE EVE OF AMERICAN RULE

It is appropriate to conclude with a description of Pensacola just before it passed into American possession. Between 1814 and 1820 the physical appearance of the city had changed little except, perhaps, that it was a little more dilapidated. The public buildings were in poor shape, and religious services continued to be held in the old warehouse. The streets were still of sand, but in some places brick sidewalks had been laid. Although Governor Callava made some attempt to repair Fort San Carlos, the fortifi-

70. Faye, "British and Spanish Fortifications," pp. 291-292; Corbitt, "Spanish Administrative System," p. 60; "Estado que manifiesta la fuerza militar . . . ," Pensacola, October, 1819, AGI: PC, legajo 1944.

cations of the town were largely in ruins and were completely inadequate to repel a determined attack. [71]

The population had increased somewhat from the low of 1818, and the census of 1820 showed 713 inhabitants. Of this total 451 were white and 259 colored. In terms of origin, 370 were native born and of these only seven were over forty years old; that is, old enough to have been living in the town before the end of the British period. Thus, the population of Pensacola had been almost entirely replaced since 1781. Of the rest, ninety-eight were born in Spain or in Spanish-America, sixteen in continental European countries other than Spain, five in Great Britain and her colonies, twelve in the United States, eighteen in Africa, five in the Indian nations, seventeen in Mobile, five in Baton Rouge, and one hundred and fifty-five in Louisiana. Thus, the single largest national or cultural element was the French creoles.

The following table gives the occupational breakdown of the population. The letter "W" indicates white, "C" colored.

2 barbers (1 W, 1 C)	14 sailors (W)
2 billiard parlor keepers (W)	2 wagoners (W)
1 surgeon (W)	8 forest rangers (W)
1 innkeeper (W)	3 cattlemen (W)
1 gunsmith (W)	1 cowboy (W)
3 cigar makers (W)	1 sacristan (W)
3 masons (C)	1 interpreter (W)
17 carpenters (7 W, 10 C)	3 silversmiths (W)
22 shoemakers (7 W, 15 C)	18 grocers (W)
13 fishermen (10 W, 3 C)	12 shopkeepers (W)
8 bakers (6 W, 2 C)	28 farmers (26 W, 2 C)
5 tailors (3 W, 2 C)	14 "employees" (W)
4 blacksmiths (W)	29 laundresses (1 W, 27 C, 1 India
1 pastry cook (C)	29 seamstresses (6 W, 23 C)
1 tripe seller (C)	1 dressmaker (W)
1 port captain (W)	2 peddlers (C)

All white women except for one farmer, one laundress, six seamstresses, and one dressmaker included above gave their occupation as housewife. There is some question about the legitimacy of the occupation of the fifty colored laundresses and seamstresses. Most of them probably had less respectable means of support. Indeed, the census reveals rather widespread irregularities in

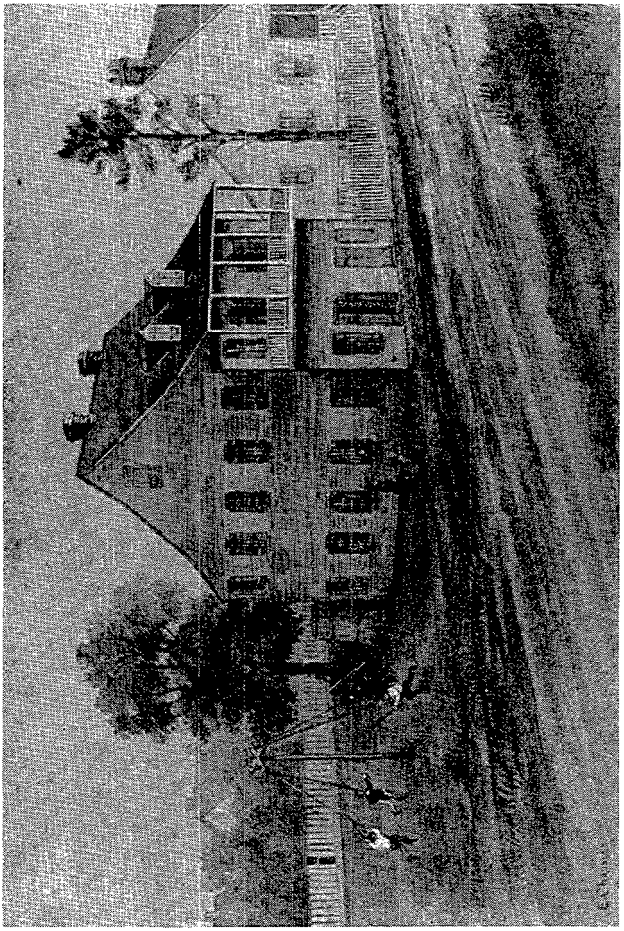
71. "The Public Buildings of Pensacola, 1818" *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVI (1937), 45-47; Hugh Young, "A Topographical Memoir on East and West Florida . . . ," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1934-35), 162; Jose Callava to Juan Manuel Cagigal, December 4, 1819, AGI:PC, legajo 1944.

relations between the sexes. Out of 379 persons whose parentage could be identified, 101 were illegitimate, and there were thirty-nine mothers of illegitimate children. Also there were eight childless women living openly with men who were not their husbands. In general, the census reveals a high proportion of persons engaged in trade or service in comparison to the few engaged in direct production. This disproportion strongly indicates the garrison character of the town. [72]

In addition to the population of Pensacola itself, some 380 white Americans and seventy-three Negroes, probably all slaves, lived along the Escambia River some five to eighteen leagues from Pensacola. These cultivated some 1100 of land on which they raised rice, corn, beans, tobacco, and cotton. In addition, they owned 1577 head of cattle and 1160 hogs. Governor Callava had reservations about their presence. Not being Spanish subjects and being beyond the jurisdiction of their own government, they were a lawless lot. They had taken the best land and they were increasing in number so rapidly that the governor feared a repetition of the West Florida Rebellion in his district. On the other hand, he admitted that they served a useful function. They furnished Pensacola with a quantity of necessary food items at reasonable prices, and he was of the opinion that within a year they could supply the whole town, thus eliminating its dependence on imports. [73]

Not long after the return of the Spanish, Pensacola had another brief taste of municipal government. In 1820 a military uprising in Spain forced Ferdinand VII to restore the constitution of 1812. As before, the town did not have the population to qualify as a municipality, but a number of inhabitants held that under certain provisions of the constitution it might be considered a special case. Governor Callava was uncertain and requested an opinion from his *auditor de guerra,* Nicholas Santos Suarez. The latter handed down the unusual decision that the town could not legally be constituted a municipality but it could have an *alcalde.* The governor, therefore, called an election and on June 15, 1820, Jose Noriega won the office.

72. Duvon C. Corbitt, "The Last Spanish Census of Pensacola, 1820," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXIV (1945-1946), 30-38.
73. Callava to Cagigal, November 20, 1920, AGI:PC, legajo 1944.



Hardly had Noriega been installed when he renewed the jurisdictional dispute which had characterized Pensacola's first experiment with self-government. The *alcalde* laid claim to all functions of government not purely military and demanded custody of the public records. Callava refused. As before, both parties appealed to higher authority, in this case to Havana. Here it was ruled that the town could neither qualify as a municipality nor was it entitled to an *alcalde.* Before the decision could be enforced however, word arrived of the cession of West Florida to the United States, and when Andrew Jackson arrived to assume

the governorship of the territory he found the functions of civil government claimed by both Callava and Noriega, neither of whom had any clear idea of the limits of his authority. [74]

Social Life

The social life of Pensacola remained easy-going and simple. John Lee Williams who visited the town shortly after the final American occupation, described the people as temperate, quiet, and rather indolent. They were affectionate and friendly to each other and kind to their slaves. Business of any kind rarely interfered with the even tenor of their ways. Amusements were few. The most distinctive was the often described patgoe. The patgoe was a wooden bird fixed on a pole which was carried through the city by a slave on festive occasions. As it was presented to the ladies, they made an offering of a piece of ribbon of any length or color. These contributions were attached to the bird which eventually became decked with the most colorful plumage. Later the creation was displayed at a set time and place and the fair patrons assembled around it. They were generally accompanied by their beaux who came armed with fowling pieces. The young men then took turns shooting at the bird, and the first who succeeded in "killing" it was proclaimed King. The patgoe became his and he presented it to his favorite lady who, of course, became Queen. There was a catch to it, however, the winning marksman was expected to pay all the expenses of the next ball over which he and his queen reigned.

Dancing was universally popular as were card parties and devotees made no distinction as to the day of the week on which they pursued their pleasure. [75] When Rachel Jackson accompanied her husband to Pensacola in 1821, her puritanical standards were particularly shocked by the loose observance of the Lord's Day. Rachel complained vigorously against the places of business which stayed open on Sunday and protested that dancing and fiddling took the greater part of the Sabbath. [76] Her attitude, perhaps foreshadowed the change from the Latin to the Anglo-Saxon atmosphere which was soon to prevail in Pensacola.

74. Corbitt, "Spanish Administrative System," II, 60-61.
75. Williams, *View of West Florida,* pp. 77-79.
76, Gonzalez, "Pensacola," pp. 18-19.